T. Timofeyev

THE WORKING CLASS IS THE LEADING FORCE

T. Timofeyev

THE WORKING CLASS IS THE LEADING FORCE

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY PUBLISHING HOUSE
MOSCOW, USSR 6D,
MARCH 1985

CONTENTS

The Leading Class of the Epoch	5
Is the Proletariat Disappearing?	8
A Tried and Tested Fighter	11
Young Detachments of the World Proletariat	13
The Predominant Force of World Development	14
Peace Is the Ally of the Working People	16
Organization Plus Class Solidarity	19
Another Myth Exploded	20
On a National Scale	22
The International Working Class and the National-Liberation Movement	26

One hundred years ago, in 1864, an assembly in London of working men from a number of countries founded the International Working Men's Association (the First International). By that historic act the proletariat showed its determination to play the leading role in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The First International, led by Karl Marx, left an indelible imprint on the glorious annals of the international working class movement. It laid, said Lenin, "the foundation of an international organization of workers which would prepare a revolutionary onslaught on capital," "the foundation of the proletarian, international fight for socialism." (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 29, pp. 280—281, 4th Russ. Ed.).

The main point in the theory of scientific socialism is its doctrine of the class struggle and the leading role of the proletariat in the social transformation of the capitalist society. In substantiating the theory of the world-historic mission of the working class as the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of a new, communist system, Marx and Engels proceeded from a scientific analysis of the basic ineradicable contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. Those contradictions inevitably lead to the downfall of capitalism and create the objective preconditions for a socialist revolution of the proletariat. "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes," Marx stressed in the *Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association* one hundred years ago. (Marx and Engels, *Works,* Vol. 16, p. 10, 2nd Russ. Ed.).

Noting with satisfaction the rapid growth of the working class of the world and emphasizing that "one element of success they possess — numbers," the great leader of the world proletariat went on to say, "but numbers weigh only in the balance if united by combination and led by knowledge." "The emancipation of the working class requires their fraternal concurrence," he declared.

As far back as 1864 Marx insisted that it was the duty of the working class "**to master themselves the mysteries of international politics,**" and "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations. The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes."

Further, the founders of scientific communism pointed out that "the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists". (Marx and Engels, *Works,* Vol. 16, pp. 10—11, 2nd Russ. Ed.).

Today, one hundred years later, the scientific correctness and great vital force of the Marxist doctrine are clearer than ever.

How the world has altered in these hundred years! Great changes have taken place both on the international arena and within the capitalist society itself, especially in its conditions of life, in the forms and **the sphere of operation** of some of its laws. Bourgeois theoreticians are profoundly mistaken when they portray the Communists as diehard "dogmatists" who refuse to see the social processes taking place about them. Marxists-Leninists not only see all the new and developing social phenomena but make a thorough scientific analysis of them.

Surely, the fundamental social changes which have taken place in the world confirm the correctness of the theory of scientific communism which Marx, Engels and Lenin evolved.

Marxism predicted that **the working class would inevitably come to power.** Today the working people are in power in the countries covering one-third of the globe. Sooner or later the proletariat and its allies will triumph over the bourgeoisie in the rest of the world.

Marxism scientifically substantiated the premise that the working class can not only win political power but **build a new society** where there will be no exploitation of man by man and where the most humane of all principles, "One for all and all for one", will reign. The working people of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have done just that. **The successful building of socialist society is the most important achievement of the international working class over the past few decades.** The peoples of the world can see for themselves how Marx's prediction **has come true, how the proletariat has changed from an exploited class lacking all rights into the ruling class enjoying full rights,** a class which **is directing** social development consciously and along scientific lines.

Marxism predicted that the role of the working class in **world development** would grow steadily. Today, no matter which sphere we examine — the issue of war and peace, the national-liberation struggle of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples, or other vital international problems — we see that **the influence of the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system, is growing, and in a number of cases is decisive** in solving these cardinal problems of humanity. The working class is carrying out Marx's behests "to master the mysteries of international politics" and to fight for a new, progressive, peaceable "foreign policy". It is successfully linking up **the fight for peace, against the threat of thermonuclear war** with the fight against the reactionary, anti-popular policy of the monopolies, with the fight to free the working people from oppression and exploitation and bring them democracy and socialism.

The growing role of the working people in world affairs can be clearly seen in the successes of the national-liberation revolutions. **If it were not for the new situation in the world arena, if it were not for the change in the balance of forces between imperialism and socialism in favour of socialism, the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism would have been impossible.** All sections of the international working class, both the working people in the socialist countries and the proletariat of the capitalist world, have always given and are continuing to give extensive and effective support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their efforts to achieve real national and social emancipation. Marxism-Leninism's scientifically substantiated tenet that **an alliance** between the working class movement in the industrial countries and the national-liberation revolutions in the economically less developed countries is a major condition for the victory of the latter and their successful development along new, non-capitalist lines, remains as valid as ever.

Marxism predicted that the ideas of communism would win ever broader masses over to its side everywhere in the world. We see how that prediction is coming true today. The peoples are finding socialist ideas so attractive that the governments of many countries (particularly the young, newly-free countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America), and also ever more Parties and political leaders in the capitalist camp, are taking them up. That is a sign of the times.

The socialist world outlook of the working class exerts a growing influence on ideological and political struggle in the modern world. This proves once again the great importance of the proletarian ideology in the development of the humanity.

The Leading Class of the Epoch

The international working class is the central figure in the development of the world today. As the leading revolutionary force of our age it determines the main direction of the worldwide revolutionnary-liberation process — the transition from capitalism to communism.

This historic mission of the working class follows from its position in the system of social production. The working class is the chief force in the production of material values. And as the productive forces develop it therefore plays an increasingly important part in solving the major problems of mankind.

Under capitalism the working class is held in wage slavery. Capitalist exploitation of the working people is based on the complete

separation of the worker from the means of production. The working class can free itself from exploitation only by doing away with private capitalist ownership of the means of production and establishing social, socialist ownership. It is the only social force capable of resolving capitalism's chief contradiction, the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private method of appropriation. The class struggle waged by the proletariat is consistently revolutionary inasmuch as it is directed not only against manifestations of capitalist exploitation but against its very foundation, private ownership of the means of production. That is why the working class is the most revolutionary class in capitalist society and the leading force in the struggle against class oppression by all who are exploited.

In the socialist countries, where the working class owns the means of production, it directs the building of socialism and communism. This new historic role is inseparably linked with further development of the class struggle against capitalism, the centre of gravity of which has shifted to the international arena. By making steady headway in its peaceful economic competition with capitalism and by demonstrating the advantages of socialism, the working class in the socialist countries undermines the positions of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries. The merging of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the constructive efforts of the working class in the socialist countries into a single revolutionary process thus greatly increases the strength of the international working class in its fight for the social transformation of capitalist society.

The 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement made by the Moscow Meetings of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties and the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted at the 22nd Party Congress in 1961 creatively develop the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the world-historic mission of the working class. They apply it to the new conditions of the world revolutionary working class movement established in the second half of the 20th century.

These documents clearly define and substantiate the strategic aims pursued by the entire communist and working class movement at the present stage of world development.

"The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system," says the Statement adopted by the Meeting of Representatives of 81 Communist Parties in 1960. "They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress." To forget this truth is to renounce the class solidarity of the working

people of the world and ignore the internationalist principles on which the activity of the world communist movement is founded.

Preservation and consolidation of proletarian unity is an important condition for the victory of the international proletariat. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the main forms of ideological sabotage by national opportunists in the working class movement, sabotage aimed against the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, is attempts to separate the achievements of the first country of victorious socialism from the development of the world revolutionary process as a whole. The national opportunists give a distorted interpretation of the relationship between the magnificent programme for building communism in the USSR and the advance of the other socialist countries. They take various aspects of the international revolutionary-liberation movement, namely, world socialism and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples, the movement of the working class against the monopolies in the imperialist countries and the national-liberation, anti-imperialist revolutions in the developing countries, and arbitrarily pose one against the other.

Such concepts have nothing in common with Leninism. Lenin always opposed attempts to separate the interconnected aspects of the world proletarian revolution. He repeatedly pointed out that the determining and decisive role in the international revolutionary-liberation process is played by the working class. Only the working class can unite the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces both inside a country and on an international scale, and lead them to victory over imperialism, to socialism and communism. To deny that means rejecting proletarian, scientific socialism in favour of petty-bourgeois socialism.

Substantiating the leading role of the proletariat, Lenin wrote that its strength in the historical movement is infinitely greater than its proportion to the total population. The rich proletarian experience of class struggle, the historic achievements of the working class in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the traditionally proletarian methods of struggle, the socialist ideology and the high class consiousness of the working class — all these factors are exerting ever growing influence on the broadest sections of the population everywhere in the world.

The working class is the leader of all the revolutionary forces of our time. Proceeding from the immutable principles of proletarian internationalism, it is guiding them in a consistent struggle against imperialism.

It is understandable, therefore, that the acutest struggle between Marxism-Leninism and the ideologists of modern anti-communism is

being waged over the role of the working class in the present stage of world development and its influence on the fundamental social problems of the epoch.

Opponents of Marxism-Leninism attempt to refute the world-historic mission of the working class as the grave-digger of capitalism and builder of a new society. They deny the increasing proletarianization of capitalist society, claiming that now society in the main capitalist countries is no longer divided into classes but into strata, and that the differences between the strata are determined not by their place in the system of social production or their relation to the ownership of the means of production, but by other, minor, factors. "Instead of the process of proletarianization, i. e., the change over of millions to the status of industrial workers," Raymond Aron, for example, told the Third World Congress of Sociologists, "there is an increasing differentiation both among industrial workers and trades outside industry in the narrow sense of the word."

Denying the world-historic mission of the working class, Professor Hugh Seton-Watson of London University declares that the "communist dogma of the proletariat being the leading revolutionary class" is untenable.

The facts, however, contradict such assertions. Increased proletarianization of the population is a law of capitalist development operating in our day.

Is the Proletariat Disappearing?

In the middle of the last century, when Marx and Engels first advanced the thesis that the proletariat would be the grave-digger of capitalism, the number of industrial workers in the world did not exceed 10 million. By the beginning of the 20th century the industrial proletariat in the big capitalist countries (Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Russia and Japan) numbered approximately 30 million. During the following half century the number of factory and mine workers in the world increased roughly four or five times over.

The growth in the number of non-manual workers (rank and file technicians and engineers, clerical-commercial employees, most of whom are subjected to the same capitalist exploitation as manual workers) has proceeded at an even more rapid rate. By the fifties of this century there were some 370 million factory and office workers

in the world, of whom about 300 million were in the non-socialist countries. Of these more than 110 million belonged to the industrial proletariat.

The international working class continued to grow rapidly in the years that followed. During the past decade the total number of wage and salary earners in the world rose from 370 million to 500 million, according to preliminary estimates. In the advanced capitalist countries the annual increase averaged about 17 per cent by 1950. That being the case, the total number of the proletariat in these countries could be put at approximately 180—190 million by the sixties.

The rate of growth of the proletariat in the devedoping countries has been even more rapid than in Western Europe or North America. Assuming that the working class in those countries grew by 25 to 30 per cent in the last decade (as a minimum, since in many developing countries, Africa especially, the rate is considerably in excess of that figure), in 1963 it would have numbered not less than 180 million, or almost as many as in the industrial capitalist countries. The largest section of the working class in the economically less-developed countries is still the agricultural proletariat.

Growth of the working class has been particularly rapid in the socialist countries. The number of wage and salary earners there doubled between 1950 and 1960, from 70 to 140 million.

Thus, the strength and influence of the international working class have considerably increased in recent years.

Along with the increase in the size of the working class there has been a stratafication of both urban and rural strata of the petty bourgeoisie. The overwhelming majority of the gainfully employed population in the most highly developed capitalist countries are wage workers.

According to the International Labour Organization the percentage of wage and salary earners among the gainfully employed rose in Western Germany from 64.7 in 1882 to 75.4 in 1956, in Italy from 51.6 in 1936 to 60.4 in 1954, and in the United States from 78.3 in 1940 to 82.2 in 1950. (See *Structure of the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries,* Prague, 1962, p. 200.)

In France not less than 62 per cent of the gainfully employed population consists of wage workers, according to the 1954 census.

In the middle of the last century some forty and more per cent of the population in the US, France and Germany fell into the category of "independent" persons. Today capitalism has expropriated most of the small proprietors, turning them into wage workers. The process is far from complete. The ruin of small and middle farmers is proceeding on a mass scale. In the United States, for example, the

number of farms decreased from 6,100,000 in 1940 to 3,700,000 in 1959. Between 1951 and 1959 the number of the gainfully employed farm population in Italy dropped by nearly two million. The Common Market has intensified the dispossession of the small and middle farmers. Official estimates are that in the next few years some eight million people will be forced to give up farming in the EEC countries.

Not all expropriated proprietors become industrial workers, of course. But the position of the bulk of the middle strata of the population is coming closer and closer to that of the working class. The proletariat has more right than ever before to speak in the name of all who work and are exploited.

As Maurice Thorez noted in his speech delivered at the opening of a "Week of Marxist Ideas" in Paris in March 1963: "Despite the claims of its opponents Marxism has not 'become out of date.' Its conclusions concerning the class structure of bourgeois society, the growing gap between the means of production and labour, and so on, remain immutable." Noting new phenomena in modern capitalism, such as the shrinking of the old middle strata and broadening of new middle strata, Thorez said: "But despite all the probable or possible new phenomena, despite all the changes, one must not for an instant forget the main and most permanent feature of bourgeois society, the chief class contradiction in our country — the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."

Under state-monopoly capitalism, exploitation of the proletariat and other strata of the working people is intensified not only by the capitalists directly but also by the state, which redistributes the national income in favour of the monopolies. In the United States the share in the national income of four-fifths of the population (industrial and office workers and other proletarianized strata) fell from 59.7 per cent in 1900 to 45.9 per cent in 1950, a 25 per cent drop.

The rise in unemployment makes the position of the worker unstable, and this also intensifies proletarianization.

The facts thus fully confirm the Marxist thesis that the chief trend in the development of capitalist society is the increasing separation of the means of production from the immediate producers, thus turning them into wage labourers, and the means of production into capital. Instead of class contradictions being smoothed over, there is clearly an aggravation of the antagonism between labour and capital. Under these conditions the growing proletarianization of the population and the increase in the proportion of the working class to the total population heighten its role in world history.

Western Europe, North America, Japan and Australia account for only about one-third of the gainfully employed population of the non-socialist world, yet more than half the wage and salary earners and up to four-fifths of the industrial proletariat of the entire capitalist system are concentrated there.

Its relatively high degree of organization, rich traditions, and great experience in class struggle, even more than its size, determine the important role that the working class plays in Western Europe, North America and Japan. Its revolutionary vanguard is opposed by the richest, most experienced and best organized bourgeoisie in the world, for decades reformism has had a strong hold in the working class movement there. The proletariat and its class organizations in the imperialist countries are taking the lead in building up broad anti-monopoly coalitions, opposing offensives against the people's democratic rights and living standards, and fighting for peace and socialism.

In discussing the part played by this detachment of the international proletariat we must consider the structural changes that are now taking place in its ranks. The working class of the highly developed capitalist countries today is made up of three main groups: the industrial, clerical-commercial and agricultural proletariat. The groups are developing differently. Within the working class the proportion of skilled workers and technical experts engaged in servicing machinery, organizing production, etc. is increasing. However, on the whole the relative number employed in the productive sphere is shrinking rather than growing.

But although it is decreasing in size the industrial proletariat remains the backbone of the working class. That is because it is the most highly developed and organized section. Lenin stressed that only a definite class, "namely the urban and industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, in the process of this overthrowing, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating a new, socialist social system, in the whole struggle for the complete abolition of classes." (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 29, p. 387, 4th Russ. Ed.)

The growing number of people engaged in the non-material production sphere are an integral part of the proletariat. In the last century clerical-commercial employees were considered to be performing work calling for more than average skill. Today their average salary is less than the average wage of a skilled worker. The earnings of

94 per cent of the office workers in the United States in 1958—1959 did not equal the minimum living wage of a worker's family as calculated by the Heller committee. Although clerical-commercial employees are far more scattered than industrial workers they are being drawn more and more into trade unions and are now an important ally of the factory proletariat.

As for the agricultural proletariat, it should be remembered that in the past fifty years its size has decreased sharply in the more highly developed capitalist countries. At the end of last century the rural proletariat in Western Europe was as large as the industrial proletariat, but by the middle of the present century it represented less than 10 per cent of the gainfully employed population. Despite the drop in number, however, the agricultural proletariat remains the mainstay of the proletarian movement in the rural areas.

The changes in the structure of the labour force according to trades and skills have led to certain social changes in the ranks of the working class. Mechanization and automation are bringing the earnings of workers of different skills closer and closer to the same level. In Britain in 1914, for example, the earnings of skilled engineering workers were 84 per cent higher than those of unskilled workers. In 1960 they were only 33 per cent higher. Under these conditions the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rely on a definite section of highly paid, privileged workers, the so-called labour aristocracy. Furthermore, the class struggle of the proletariat has broken down the narrow craft nature of the trade unions, on which the labour aristocracy often relied.

With continued concentration of production and technological progress the living standards, skills and interests of different sections of the proletariat tend to become more and more alike. This increases the possibilities of healing the still existing split in its ranks and promotes the further growth of a mass working class movement.

The changed nature of production and the need to adapt itself to rapid technical and scientific progress have broadened the cultural and political outlook of the proletariat and heightened its class consciousness and solidarity. The working class in today's capitalist world is not oppressed, dumb toilers but a powerful creative force which has accumulated tremendous revolutionary energy and experience in class struggle.

In both its domestic and foreign policy every bourgeois government has to take the power and influence of the working class into account. The more active and united the working class movement the harder it is for the bourgeoisie to carry out the arms race, war preparations

and other reactionary, anti-democratic measures, and the more often it must make important concessions to democratic public opinion.

The working class and its organizations now intervene in all spheres of political activity, thereby limiting the freedom of action of the monopolies and the men they have placed in power. Representatives of the revolutionary proletariat are winning ever firmer positions in parliaments and local government bodies, mercilessly exposing bourgeois policies and propaganda. Countering the anti-popular policies of bourgeois governments, the Communist Parties and progressive trade unions put forward their own solutions to vital economic and social problems in the interests of the working people. In several capitalist countries the working class has succeeded in winning a number of democratic rights, including rights that did not exist at the time of the bourgeois democratic revolutions. Advanced detachments of the fighting proletariat often win from the capitalists the right to take part in defining the basic aspects of labour relations at industrial establishments. The working class movement in a number of capitalist countries has achieved certain success in the struggle to nationalize key industries, which limits the powers of the private monopolies and demonstrates how unnecessary the capitalist class is. In a number of cases the proletariat has won from bourgeois governments a definite increase in wages, introduction of family grants, a broader pension scheme, increased unemployment benefits, longer paid holidays, etc. None of these was presented to the proletariat. They all had to be won in bitter and unceasing class struggle.

Young Detachments of the World Proletariat

A young working class is rapidly developing in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Before the October Socialist Revolution Lenin noted the indisputable fact that the working class movement unfortunately embraced only the civilized nations so far. Now, forty-five years later, the situation is different. In the Asian, African and Latin American countries the working class, the size and militancy of the proletarian organizations, and their role and significance in the struggle against imperialism and for a better future for their peoples, are growing rapidly.

The long rule of imperialism in the colonies and dependent countries has left its imprint on the entire social structure, including the composition of the working class. Because imperialism turned the Asian, African and Latin American countries into raw material appendages of the metropolies the largest number of workers there comprise

agricultural workers. The most commonly found type of worker is a proletarian with a small plot of land. But because there are still strong vestiges of feudal relations in production (bondage, forms of individual dependence, social and caste pressure, and so on) the agricultural proletariat has not clearly emerged as yet and it is still hard to distinguish the agricultural proletariat from the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian mass of the peasantry. In countries like India and Egypt the agricultural proletariat and semi-proletariat comprise from one-fourth to one-third of the gainfully employed population.

The urban proletariat in the developing countries comprises several clearly defined groups. One consists of workers employed at small factories, workshops and handicraft establishments. The small size of the staff, the primitive machinery, the artisan nature of the work, the direct contact with the owner, who often participates in production, and the absence of trade unions or other organizations — all combine to create a kind of medieval, patriarchal relationship between workers and owners and retard the growth of class consciousness among the workers. Development of the national economy is not accompanied by the liquidation of small undertakings. On the contrary, the number of small enterprises is growing, and with it the size of the artisan proletariat.

The accelerated development of large-scale industry in a number of Asian and African countries is accompanied by a growth of the industrial proletariat, the core of the working class. As this new detachment of the international proletariat increases in size the role played by the young working class movement in the newly-free, still dependent and colonial countries becomes greater. Its ideology is becoming more and more the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. This is an important guarantee that the anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolutions will develop towards socialism. After carrying out its primary task of emancipating the peoples from colonial oppression the national-liberation movement is tackling an even more difficult problem — that of assuring economic independence and social progress. In alliance with the international working class and with its active and constant support it will accomplish that task.

The Predominant Force in World Development

The whole course of economic and political development today leads to growing cohesion between the working class and increasingly

broader sections of the population. This is an inevitable process taking place to a greater or lesser degree in every single country of the world.

In the socialist countries the working class, headed by its Party, has long been the recognized leader of the people. What is more, the leading role of the proletariat in the general development of the world depends to a considerable degree on what the working class of the socialist countries has achieved.

The working class of the USSR has accumulated a great deal of experience in the revolutionary transformation of society and in building socialism and communism. Headed by the Party of Lenin, the Soviet working class was the first to translate the theory of scientific socialism into reality; it developed forms and methods of building a new society; it revealed the difficulties that were involved and how to overcome them. On the road to socialism the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries achieved a high level of industrial development within a brief span of time. The size of the working class, its proportion to the population, and its leading role in the transformation of society have grown extremely rapidly. The working class and all working people in the socialist countries have made the building of socialism and communism their chief goal. Their aim is to expand production and provide a high standard of living for the entire population, and win complete victory in peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

The world-historic achievements of the Soviet Union and the entire world socialist system have created favourable conditions for the proletariat and its allies in the capitalist countries to wage the class struggle. The ideas of socialism are coming to have more and more appeal. The influence of the Communist and Workers' Parties and their Marxist-Leninist ideology has increased.

In the capitalist countries there are increasingly favourable conditions for uniting the broadest sections of the population around the proletariat. In the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan, the main imperialist countries, the development of state-monopoly capitalism and the increasing dominance of the monopoly bourgeoisie in various spheres of social life are aggravating not only the antagonism between labour and capital but also the contradictions between the monopolists and the majority of the population. That is an objective process which will inevitably lead to a regrouping of class forces and to a situation favourable to the working class and its Party. It creates the conditions for rallying the majority of the population, including the peasantry, office workers, intellectuals and petty and middle bourgeoisie, around the proletariat in order to wage

a joint struggle against the monopolies. Democratic slogans connected with the struggle for economic demands, democratic rights, national independence and peace provide a basis on which such an anti-monopoly coalition could be built.

Since the possibilities of democratic development under capitalism have been exhausted, democracy can be achieved only by fighting for socialism. By its very nature the proletariat is the only democratic class free of caste prejudices, a class that makes the winning of freedom, equality and fraternity for all working people its goal. That is why the proletariat, inspired by socialist ideals, is at the head of the peoples' struggle for democracy.

There are even more favourable possibilities for rallying broad sections of the population around the proletariat in the developing Asian, African and Latin American countries that have taken, or are about to take, the path of national independence. The successes of the national-liberation movement of the Eastern peoples, which have weakened the foundations of imperialism, graphically confirm the Marxist thesis that any progressive movement directly or indirectly helps the working class to achieve its goals and is in the interests of the proletarian struggle for socialism.

The onward march of the international working class is accompanied by an extension of its influence on social development. The working class movement is coming more and more to express the interests of all urban and rural working people, the basic demands of all mankind. There is not a single important social development in the world today in which the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, do not take part, and have a decisive influence. The revolutionary working class actively participates in settling all the problems of concern to various sections of modern society.

Peace Is the Ally of the Working People

The question that arouses the sharpest disagreement between the followers of Marxism-Leninism and their opponents of all shades concerns the lines of development of the world revolutionary process, and its prospects. It is a fact that the present, third stage of the general crisis of capitalism set in not the result of a world war but in a period of the peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition of the two opposing social systems.

But can a revolutionary situation develop in a capitalist country in time of peace, or can it do this only during a world war? Communists declare that Marxism-Leninism has never linked the development of

the revolutionary movement and the maturing of a revolutionary situation with war alone. Today there exist far more prerequisites for a socialist revolution than before; quite new and favourable internal and external conditions have arisen.

That is due, in the first place, to the existence, strength and successful advance of the world socialist system which, as the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties said in their 1960 Statement, is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society, determining its main content, main direction, and main features.

Socialism is passing more and more milestones in its peaceful competition with capitalism. The time is near when it will be able to prove, tangibly and undeniably, that it is far superior to the most highly developed and "prosperous" capitalist countries in all spheres. That is exerting and will continue to exert with growing force a deep revolutionizing influence on the working people in the capitalist countries.

There is another reason why the existence and strength of the socialist system is so tremendously important for the development of the revolutionary process in peacetime. It is a reliable guarantee against attempts to export counter-revolution. Before, such attempts could be frustrated only through armed conflict, accompanied by divisions and upheavals in the imperialist camp. Today the very existence of the world socialist system, which is capable of giving the military, political and economic assistance required by a nation taking the path of socialism, prevents the export of counter-revolution.

The position of the "upper strata" of capitalist society becomes far less stable as the general crisis of capitalism deepens. Conscious of this instability, monopoly capital feverishly strengthens the machinery of its class rule and increases government intervention in all spheres of social life. But state-monopoly capitalism has its reverse side. Increased government interference and totalitarian trends bring the working people face to face not only with individual capitalists but with the entire oppressive system of the bourgeois state and the entire social system of capitalism. The people at large come to pay closer and closer attention to the functioning of bourgeois governments, parliaments and political Parties, to problems of a political system and democratic freedoms.

Under these conditions a crisis in the "upper strata" may arise not as a consequence of war but out of the grave economic and socio-political difficulties which the ruling classes are more and more frequently encountering. Inasmuch as capitalism's reserves of stability have been sharply reduced, the position of the "upper strata" is

becoming less and less stable, and less devastating upheavals are sufficient to bring about a revolutionary situation.

Some modern dogmatists consider the struggle of the working class for democratic goals and the immediate interests of the working people in the capitalist countries, primarily the fight for peace, to be a secondary matter, at best a tactical slogan. They set the fight for peace in opposition to the fight for socialism, claiming it creates illusions and "distracts" the people from socialist revolution. This approach, although it sounds revolutionary, is contrary to true Leninism and reduces the opportunities for proletarian revolutionary struggle. It shows that the dogmatists simply ignore the tremendous revolutionary content of the struggle for peace.

What is it that makes the working class and all working people hate capitalism and determine to overthrow it by revolution and replace it with socialism? Primarily the actual calamities which the rule of capital heaps on their heads: intensified exploitation, poverty, the danger of unemployment, militarization, attacks on the political rights and economic gains of the working class, and so on. Probably the worst of these calamities is war. War not only increases material want and political oppression but takes a heavy toll of life on the battle-front and in the rear.

In the present age, when a thermonuclear war threatens the lives, the physical existence of the working people of whole countries and continents, **the revolutionary force of the fight for peace has grown tremendously stronger.** That being the case, why should the striving for peace be a less effective stimulus to revolution than the striving for national independence and social justice that has so often stirred the people to rise in heroic revolutionary struggle.

In fact the revolutionary potential of the fight for peace is especially great today. A revolutionary crisis could quite easily arise not after, but before, hostilities started; instead of punishing imperialism for having committed the crime of unleashing a war it would be a means of **preventing** that crime. This is a new important factor in the relationship between revolution and the fight for peace, a factor introduced chiefly by the appearance of nuclear weapons of mass destruction.

Even partial successes in the fight for peace and relaxation of international tension create more favourable conditions for a liberating revolutionary struggle. These successes also improve internal conditions for the class struggle in the capitalist countries, help to isolate political reaction, which is inseparably connected with militarism, and limit the possibilities of poisoning the minds of the people with nationalistic and chauvinistic propaganda.

Organization Plus Class Solidarity

No matter how much objective conditions may favour the revolutionary working class movement, they do not in themselves guarantee its success. The working class can take full advantage of those opportunities only if its political class consciousness is high, if it is sufficiently organized and united, and if it has influential and efficient Marxist-Leninist Parties. To judge the strength of the proletariat we must analyze the changes taking place in these subjective aspects of the proletarian movement.

One of the most important of these changes is a general growth in the level of organization of the international proletariat in the past few decades. For one thing, there is the significant increase in the number of workers who are trade-union members. In his evaluation of the increase in trade-union membership in the capitalist countries, Lenin pointed out that the growth of class consciousness and desire to organize were especially evident among the mass of the proletariat, among its less advanced sections.

The following figures illustrate the growth of the trade unions:

Number of Trade Union Members in the World (in millions)

1913	14
1920	45
1939	60
1956	160
1963	over 200

Thus in the past fifty years the total number of organized workers in the world has grown more than fourteen times.

In the industrial capitalist countries trade-union membership exceeds 60 million. In a number of capitalist countries (Italy, France and Japan, for example) the majority of the organized proletariat belongs to trade unions.

The growth in class consciousness and the increase in the revolutionary opportunities of the proletariat are most graphically illustrated by the advance of the communist movement. In 1931 the number of members of Communist Parties in the world totalled 1,200,000. Today they reach more than 42 million.

In 1918 there were only ten Communist Parties in the world. Their number grew to 34 in 1921, 46 in 1928, 60 in 1935, 78 in 1949, 87 in 1960 and more than 90 in 1963.

Marxist-Leninist Parties, representing the revolutionary trend in the international working class movement, are in power in a number of countries of Europe and Asia and in one of the countries of Latin America. In many other countries they are the leaders in the struggle of the proletariat and the people at large against imperialism and for democracy and socialism. The number of Communists and their influence among the people are rapidly growing. The Japanese Communist Party has doubled its membership in recent years, from 50,000 early in 1959 to over 100,000 today. The Communist and Workers' Parties have grown in Indonesia, India, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Britain and other countries. The Communist Parties and trade unions of Italy, France, Finland, Sweden, Austria, India, Chile and Ceylon have had marked successes in parliamentary and local elections and in elections at industrial establishments.

The policy of the Marxist-Leninist Parties is based on a thorough analysis of all the factors, both objective and subjective, that determine the actual strength and revolutionary possibilities of the working class movement in a certain period. Marxism, said Lenin, demands of Communists "that the most exact and objectively verifiable account should be taken of the class correlation and the concrete features of each historic moment." This is essential, he said, "for any scientific substantiation of policy." *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p. 24, 4th Russ. Ed.)

Another Myth Exploded

Events in the capitalist world in the late fifties and early sixties indicate a new upsurge in the working class movement in the capitalist countries.

Aggravation of the social, economic and political contradictions within imperialism is also helping to a certain extent to intensify the class struggle. This aggravation is due to a number of factors, one being the development of state-monopoly capitalism, which makes domination by the financial oligarchy particularly intolerable. Another factor is scientific and technical progress, which under capitalism acts against the interests of the working people.

This shows how groundless are the claims of apologists of capitalism that the Marxist-Leninist concept of the class struggle is "out of date" and that "class co-operation" reigns in the West. Life itself refutes those false claims.

In the highly industrialized capitalist countries the struggle of the working class and its allies is primarily against the imperialist monopolies as being most guilty of exploiting the workers, intensifying the arms drive, and crushing democratic freedoms. The anti-monopoly struggle of the working people is inevitably developing more and more into a struggle against the entire social and political system of state-monopoly capitalism. "Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it," says the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Communist Parties in 1960, "the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country."

The class battles between labour and capital in recent years have been waged on a scale and with a bitterness characteristic of turning-points in the working class movement.

The previous turning-points, following the first and second world wars (the revolutionary upsurges of 1919—1923 and 1945—1948), were marked by a growing wave of strikes in the capitalist countries.

The latest stage in the general crisis of capitalism has also seen a great rise in the strike struggle. This working-class and democratic movement of recent years has developed in a period of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the two systems. The relatively high level of economic activity in the main capitalist countries in recent years has not halted the rise of the movement.

Strike Movement in 1956—1962

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Number of strikers (in millions)	14	22	25	37	54	53	56

A distinguishing feature of the rise in the strike struggle of the past few years is that it often takes place not during economic slumps and crises or under conditions where the impoverishment of the masses is aggravated by war.

Marxists-Leninists do not support the idea of "the worse the better" that is often ascribed to them. The revolutionary working class does not place all its hopes for revolutionary changes in economic

crises. Communists believe that an effective struggle for the rights of the working class can and should be carried on in all phases of the capitalist cycle. Facts show convincingly that in spite of the lies spread by the ideologists of anti-communism the revolutionary working class movement has successfully developed in the West European countries in recent years, when economic growth has been comparatively great.

It is important to note that the class struggle of the proletariat is becoming more and more intense in the Common Market countries. Official statistics show that the level of the strike movement was from 50 to 100 per cent higher in 1960—1961 than in 1958—1959, the first years of the Common Market. In other words imperialist integration has not, despite the calculations of the monopolies, led to a relaxation of social antagonisms in Western Europe. On the contrary, the proletariat and its class organizations are replying to the international conspiracy of monopoly capital by fighting more vigorously for their vital interests.

Noteworthy, also, is the fact that not only is the total number of strikes in the capitalist world growing but the proportion and importance of big, nation-wide strikes are steadily increasing. Such strikes often play a part in bringing grave political crises to a head. The number of big, nation-wide strikes in the capitalist world increased from six annually in 1956 and 1957 to not less than 15 annually in 1960—1962.

On a National Scale

Political demands by the working people have come to be more and more closely interwoven with economic demands in the strikes of recent years. About two-thirds of these have been waged under political slogans or with a political slant of some kind. The incidence of political strikes is on the increase. In 1958 about 44 per cent of all strikers were involved in such actions. By 1962 the figure was 54 per cent.

The fact that the economic struggle is merging with the political struggle and that the working people are putting forward political demands more often creates favourable conditions for all sections of the working people to unite in a powerful coalition headed by the proletariat. In a political strike, Lenin said, the working class comes forward as the nation's most progressive class. In such cases the proletariat is more than simply one of the classes in bourgeois society. It acts as the foremost class, the leader.

The significant growth of the political activity of the proletariat is manifested in its deeper understanding of the exact opposition of their interests to those of the handful of monopolists.

Activization of working class political actions helps to make the economic struggle more vigorous. Following successful political strikes in France and Italy in 1960—1963, for example, the workers held a series of powerful and effective economic strikes. The Japanese working class has carried its new form of struggle called United Action Day from the political sphere into the sphere of economic struggle.

In the course of the class battles of the past few years the nature of the workers' demands has somewhat changed. More and more sections of the working class are coming to understand that a real rise in living standards cannot be achieved unless there is a significant extension of the rights of the proletariat and its organizations at enterprises and on a countrywide scale. During the latest strikes in the electrical, metallurgical and engineering industries in Italy the workers demanded broader trade-union rights, and restrictions on arbitrary practices of employers. The strikes were part of the struggle to establish control over the monopolies. Ending in a partial victory for the workers, they marked an advance in the fight for far-reaching democratic changes, including curbing the power of the monopolies, nationalizing monopoly-controlled industries, and a general agrarian reform.

In several other countries of Western Europe, Belgium, for one, and in a number of Latin American countries the people are more and more energetically demanding nationalization of the capitalist monopolies and a fundamental land reform.

In the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America the working class is fighting to restrict and abolish the domination of foreign monopolies, which are holding up the social and economic development of their countries. There the political struggle of the proletariat is aimed first and foremost at consolidating national independence and at combating the domination and expansion of the American monopolies. This was the case during the great national strikes in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, and also in Japan. In many countries, particularly in Latin America, there were demonstrations of protest against the attack on Cuba by US hirelings.

The political slogans with which the proletariat goes into battle today bear a national, democratic character. The working class has come forward as the advanced fighter, the vanguard of the people, proclaiming itself the leader of all the working and exploited people. It is, therefore, natural that the proletariat should more and more

often find allies among the non-proletarian sections of the population and should draw these allies into the struggle. All this is evidence that the class struggle of the proletariat is advancing to a higher stage.

As is well known, the bourgeoisie goes to considerable lengths to develop in the working class an aversion to politics, to prevent the growth of its class consciousness. But in spite of the intensified campaigns by the bourgeois propaganda machine the past few years have seen an upsurge in working class activity and a noticeable broadening of political horizons.

Substantial changes are also beginning to take place in the working class movement in North America and Australia, where the political and ideological level of the class struggle of the proletariat, owing to a number of historical, economic and other reasons is relatively lower than, say, in Europe or Latin America. In the United States, for instance, strikes in recent years have a tendency not to be limited to economic demands. The rights of the trade unions and their participation in determining working conditions, output quotas, workers' ratings, etc., are questions of growing importance in the struggle being waged by the American workers. One of the biggest actions by American labour, the 116-day strike of half a million steelworkers in 1959, brought not only satisfaction of a number of labour's demands but also strengthening of the trade unions.

Growing internationalization is a major trend in the modern working class movement. It is shown in increasing solidarity of the international proletariat with the working class of the countries where a particularly tense class struggle is going on at the moment. Actions by the working class of many countries early in 1963 in support of the national coal miners' strike in France, which ended in victory for the miners, was a vivid example of such solidarity. National and international slogans are being increasingly combined in the strike movement in the Common Market countries, where the working class is demanding that wages and social gains in the EEC member-countries should be fixed at the highest level instead of the lowest, as the monopolies want.

The upsurge in the strike movement is not the only sign that working class struggle is growing and moving into a new stage. Besides strikes the proletariat uses other forms of mass action, such as rallies and demonstrations to draw the attention of other sections of the population to their demands and to force the ruling circles to make concessions. That happened during the big nation-wide actions by the proletariat in France, Italy, Belgium and Japan at the beginning of the sixties. It was seen, too, in Panama, Peru, Ecuador, Vene-

zuela, Brazil and other Latin American countries, where a great number of demonstrations and rallies protested against the doings of the US imperialists and showed their solidarity with revolutionary Cuba.

The increased size of many strikes and demonstrations of late years is due, to a significant degree, to the broader social composition of the participants. Besides workers, the widest sections of the population, including schoolteachers, bank clerks, civil servants, medical workers, students and farmers are more and more often using strikes, demonstrations and rallies as means of struggle. The big strikes of civil servants and schoolteachers in France, Italy, Japan, India and many Latin American countries, are cases in point.

Widespread participation by various sections of the population in strikes has forced even the reformist trade unions to join the struggle. Many of the big strikes in France, Italy, Belgium and the Latin American countries are called by all, or almost all, the trade-union centres.

United action of various groups of working class has increased noticeably in recent years. This is due in part to the changes that scientific and technical progress has introduced into the production process. They break down the barriers that separate different sections of the working class.

It is noteworthy that in strikes in Italy, France, Belgium, the United States and other countries the better-paid categories of workers, such as electricians, metalworkers, steelworkers and railwaymen, are often the ones to put forward the most resolute demands.

That the younger generation of workers is taking an active part in the class struggle is highly significant. It shows that the intensive ideological conditioning to which working class youth has been subjected for many years by all media of bourgeois propaganda has not been able to turn it away from the class struggle.

Other sections of the population are more and more actively joining the working class in its struggle against the monopolies. They learn from the proletariat, but they also bring their own demands and methods of struggle to the mass movement.

Of late there has been an upsurge in the mass peasant movement in France and the Netherlands, Common Market countries where the peasantry has for a long time been rather passive.

Various groups of civil servants, particularly in France, Italy, Japan, India and Chile, are fighting more actively for their rights.

Widespread student demonstrations have taken place in Italy, France, Venezuela, Iran, South Korea and other countries in recent years.

In the anti-monopoly struggle participants who belong to different classes and sections of the working and exploited people are coming more and more to support one another and build solidarity. The ruling circles make every effort to disunite these sections of the working people and sow distrust among them, but their efforts often fail.

During the peasant disturbances in France joint demonstrations of workers and peasants under the slogans of "Worker and peasant unity" and "Workers and peasants, unite against the exploiters" were held in a number of places, among them Saint-Nazaire and Blois. The warm support which the peasants, artisans and shopkeepers gave the striking miners of Decazeville is also common knowledge. For years numerous groups of peasants in Italy, first and foremost the share-croppers, have been fighting side by side with the workers, joining them in large-scale demonstrations. Their demands include an agrarian reform, the transfer of the land to those who till it. In a number of Latin American countries the anti-imperialist alliance of workers and peasants is growing rapidly.

The International Working Class and the National-Liberation Movement

The national-liberation movement has become one ot the greatest forces contributing to the revolutionary transformation of the world in our time. Communists appreciate the great part it is playing in the fight against imperialism and war. They are filled with deep, sincere admiration for the remarkably courageous peoples who have risen to fight for their freedom against the infinitely better armed imperialists and have brought about the collapse of the colonial system.

One must not, however, lose sight of the truly enormous role that the international working class has played and is continuing to play in the struggle against imperialism. Three forces are fighting against imperialism. They are: the peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement. They co-operate closely in the single world revolutionary process, in which the decisive role is played by the most advanced force of our time, the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. This is not surprising, for the working class is fighting not only against imperialism, but against the entire system of wage slavery, against capitalism, which gave birth to imperialism. The working class is thus fighting against the root of the evil, while the national-

liberation movement is limited, for the time being, at any rate, to a fight against imperialism.

That the socialist system is the leading factor in the revolutionary process in no way minimizes the significance of the other factors, including the struggle of peoples that are upholding their independence against both old and new colonialist. On the contrary, the more significant the achievements of the socialist countries, the more favourable the prerequisites for development of the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Colonial and dependent peoples rose time and again in armed struggle against the colonialists, against the imperialists, but before the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia they were always defeated. With the victory of the proletarian revolution a new period began in man's history, a period whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism. Capitalism was plunged into the abyss of a deep crisis. The conditions for success of the national-liberation movement arose.

The October Revolution called forth an upsurge in the struggle for national emancipation in China, Korea, India, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Afghanistan, Mongolia, French Indo-China, Brazil and Peru. Soviet Russia then gave the help it could to Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Mongolia, which succeeded in upholding their independence against imperialism. Under the influence of the October Revolution Communist Parties arose in a number of Eastern countries.

The Second World War, which defeated fascism and weakened the old colonial powers and imperialism in general, created favourable conditions for another powerful upsurge in the national-liberation struggle. The disintegration of the colonial system set in. This marked the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

The third stage began in the middle of the fifties. It was called into being primarily by the formation and consolidation of the world socialist system. Imperialism was powerless to resist the peoples of the East and Latin America. The collapse of the colonial system began.

The world socialist system is a powerful factor in weakening, impairing and discrediting imperialism. The gains made by formerly oppressed peoples are the best proof of the beneficial influence on the struggle for national emancipation of this off-spring of the international working class movement. When Soviet Russia, the first socialist state, was born, 77 per cent of the world's territory and 69 per cent of its population were under the colonial yoke. Today, thanks to many years of support given by the Soviet Union and then also by the other socialist countries to the peoples' struggle for liberation, the

territory under colonial rule has been reduced to 7.6 per cent and the people to 1.5 per cent of the world's population. More than fifty countries have gained their independence in recent years. The colonial system has been almost completely abolished.

Of the various types of aid which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are continuing to render those peoples, the most important is **political support to the national-liberation movement** in its efforts to eradicate the colonial rule of the imperialist powers, create national states, and preserve and consolidate the sovereignty and independence of the young countries.

Many obstacles confront the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America on their road to freedom, and the imperialists are doing everything possible to increase their difficulties, using all the political, military and economic means at their disposal. The truth must be faced — the world of imperialism possesses a great military potential. It has nuclear missiles. Imperialism bears little resemblance to the "paper tiger" that certain not very far-sighted theoreticians try to make it out. This tiger has nuclear fangs. That should not be forgotten.

On the other hand, most of the young countries do not have a large population, are still poorly armed, and often lack sufficient experience in economic development and state organization. During the centuries in which they ruled those countries the colonial powers bribed some sections of the local population. With the help of those traitors the colonialists, pursuing a policy of "divide and rule", set nation against nation and organize acts of provocation, armed uprisings and assassinations in an attempt to disorganize the life of the emerging countries and impose their rule in a new form, by new methods.

The imperialists are also using the aggressive NATO, SEATO and CENTO blocs in their struggle against the newly-free peoples. There is no need to dwell on the strength of those blocs.

Some would-be theoreticians claim that in their struggle against imperialism the African, Asian and Latin American peoples should rely only on their own forces. That is a dangerous idea. The people's courage and staunchness in defending their national independence have always been of paramount importance, but those factors are not enough to guarantee their countries against encroachment by the imperialists, and certainly insufficient to win freedom.

The decisive factor guaranteeing the independence of the young countries is the support from the international working class movement and the world socialist system, first of all, from the Soviet Union.

The USSR calls for the outlawing and complete abolition of the colonial system. This was set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries which Premier Khrushchov presented to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations in the name of the Soviet Government. He demanded that the principle of sovereignty be applied in practice, not just in words, to all the peoples in the world without exception. He called for an end to the tyranny and the violation of fundamental human rights that are widespread today in the territories under colonial rule.

"Who, if not the United Nations, should come out for an end to colonial regimes, seeing that according to the Charter, it is the duty of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of nations, large and small," declared N. S. Khrushchov.

Almost all the major principles that the Soviet Union advanced were included in the draft of the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that was proposed by 43 Asian and African countries and adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 89. Only the colonial powers — the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Australia, and the South African Republic — did not vote for the draft, thereby exposing their intention of preserving the colonial system where it has not yet been wiped out, and of continuing their policy of brutal exploitation of the peoples they have enslaved.

If they had their way, they would not only refuse independence to the existing colonies and dependent countries but would attempt by armed intervention to restore the old order in the countries that have won national sovereignty. Fortunately, however, the Soviet Union's great economic and military might and its political prestige stand in opposition to the aggressive designs of the imperialists.

Each time the imperialists have plotted aggression against the young countries the Soviet Union has poured cold water on their plans by coming out in defence of the emerging nations. The imperialists realized the Soviet Union would not hesitate to use its military might to check aggression. Fear of retribution, of Soviet nuclear missiles, has repeatedly forced the imperialists to back down.

The history of the fifties and sixties is filled with such instances. In 1956 the Soviet Union had a decisive influence in stopping the aggression against Egypt. In 1957 it frustrated aggression against Syria, which the US imperialists wanted to carry out across Turkish territory. When India liberated Goa, Diu and Daman, its territories by historical right, from the Portuguese colonialists, Lisbon declared it "would not let the matter rest at that". Relying on NATO support,

Salazar threatened to take "grave military sanctions" against India. Again the Soviet Government stepped in, declaring its resolute support of the Indian people's actions. The Western powers were forced to retreat. In the same way the Soviet statement supporting Indonesia's just struggle for the liberation of West Irian prompted the imperialists to seek a peaceful settlement of the matter. The people of West Irian and the people of Indonesia achieved reunification by peaceful means.

For many peoples, support by the USSR is the **only** sound guarantee that their freedom will be preserved and consolidated. Like a reliable shield the might of the Soviet Union protects these peoples from an imperialist threat that otherwise would be inescapable.

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, that prominent leader of the national-liberation movement, declared at the time of his visit to the Soviet Union in 1961:

"If it had not been for the Soviet Union, the movement for liberation from the colonial yoke in Africa would have felt the full weight of a brutal and outrageous suppression."

Even those leaders whose Western orientation is well known cannot deny the enormous importance of Soviet support in the peoples' struggle against imperialism. President Bourguiba of Tunisia turned to the Soviet Government for help when his country was attacked by the French who wanted to retain their military base at Bizerta. By doing so he let it be understood that he recognized in the USSR a force capable of coming to the aid of his people and barring the way to aggressors.

By relying on the world socialist system the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have thrown off the yoke of imperialism can become firmly established and develop their economy using their national resources. Even countries without any industries of their own can, with the help from the socialist countries, pursue a fully independent policy of national rebirth and progress.

Soviet aid is an example of a real and effective contribution to the economic progress of the newly-free countries. The Soviet Union is giving economic assistance to more than 20 former colonial and dependent countries, including aid on projects like the Bhilai Steel Mill in India and the great Aswan High Dam in the United Arab Republic. With such support developing countries are planning to build more than 480 industrial establishments and other projects. About 120 projects had already been completed by the end of 1962.

The Soviet Union helps countries that have thrown off the yoke of foreign capital to consolidate their revolutionary gains and uphold their political and economic independence. Soviet-Cuban relations are

an example of fraternal co-operation. The assistance which Cuba is getting from the USSR and the other socialist countries is of great importance for her economic development and defence capacity. A tremendous part will be played in that by a long-term trade agreement signed in Moscow in January 1964, which will stipulate maximum development of the Cuban economy. "As the Soviet people carry out their broad programme of creating the material and technical basis of communism," said Fidel Castro, "they are fulfilling a great international task and making an outstanding contribution to the common cause of strengthening the world socialist system, to the struggle of the world proletariat for emancipation, to the movement of the oppressed peoples against imperialism and colonialism, and to the defence of peace and security of the peoples."

The political, economic and military aid which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries give the national-liberation movement thus helps people both to throw off colonial oppression and to consolidate their victory, to strengthen the foundations of their state independence.

The contribution to the national-liberation struggle made by workers and Communists in the imperialist countries is also common knowledge. Take the struggle of the French internationalists against the dirty war in Viet-Nam and for peace in Algeria, or the support given by British Communists to the liberation struggle in the British colonies. The growing united movement for the emancipation of Africa, declared the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, cannot be separated from the struggle of the British working class against British capitalism and the Conservative Government. The fight in Africa is also the fight of the British working class, it said.

The most advanced class in the young countries, the working class, plays an equally important role. Inclose alliance with the peasantry it is the decisive force in the national-liberation movement.

The alliance between the world socialist system and the national-liberation movement is an alliance between the working class and the peasantry on a world-wide scale inasmuch as the bulk of the population in the developing countries are peasants. Marxism considers the peasantry the chief ally of the proletariat. The peasantry voluntarily accept leadership by the proletariat as the more consistent revolutionary force. Only in alliance with the working class and under its leadership, as the experience of the socialist countries has shown, can the peasantry reach socialism.

That is why Communists, Marxists-Leninists, say that the guarantee of future victories for the national-liberation movement lies in close, inseparable ties with the world socialist system and the inter-

national working class and communist movement, in the joint struggle dictated by common interests. Without the support of both those forces the national-liberation movement is incapable of achieving economic emancipation, the chief goal at the present stage. Only with the help of the world socialist system and by utilizing its experience, which is to say, only with guidance from the international working class and its vanguard, the communist movement, can the national-liberation revolution carry out the tasks that face it.

Those who claim that the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat as a whole depends, in the final analysis, on the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, present a distorted view of the relation of the national-liberation movement to the international working class movement. By claiming that the chief storm zone of the world revolution is in Asia, Africa and Latin America they try to belittle the part played by the world socialist system, disparage the selfless struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, and depreciate the importance and scope of the democratic movements, particularly the movement for peace and against a thermonuclear war. Actually, all that is a refusal to recognize the leading role of the working class in the international revolutionary movement. It is a revision of Lenin's teachings on the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution.

The attempts to separate the national-liberation movement from the world socialist system, to counterpose the peoples fighting against imperialism to the international working class, are, in effect, aimed at weakening the anti-imperialist struggle and hindering liquidation of the remains of the colonial system. On the contrary, a close alliance of all three streams of the world revolutionary process under the leadership of the international working class and its main creation, the world socialist system, is an invincible force that will destroy both imperialism and capitalism.

In a brief span of time the international working class has risen to become the leading social force, the force determining the chief features of world development. Events have proved the great truth of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the proletariat's great mission as the grave-digger of capitalism and the builder of a new society. The working class is the embodiment of social progress in the 20th century. Hence, to fight for a better future for the peoples, for peace and socialism, means consistently to uphold the positions of the working class, to pursue its policy, and to devote every effort to achieving its goals.

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY PUBLISHING HOUSE